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THE NEW AGE

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LESSON OF THE MINISTERIAL CRISIS NOT YET LEARNT

British Imperialist rule in India has all the characteristics of Fascist autocracy. Under this rule we are denied those democratic rights, like freedom of speech, press, association etc. which the people in every civilised country enjoy. Imperialism, without its machinery of repression, without violently suppressing civil liberties cannot keep us, a whole people, enslaved.

We have not gone down under this rule but conducted mighty mass struggles against this rule. We have not yet succeeded in winning our freedom but we have learnt valuable lessons from our heroic failures and shaped our weapons anew and evolved new strategic plans.

When the Congress accepted the tactic of developing the general national struggle for independence on the basis of the immediate demands of the people, it gave a new direction to our whole movement. Every partial struggle of any section of our downtrodden people against the conditions of oppression and exploitation under Imperialism acquired a new meaning; it became a part and parcel of our general national struggle. Civil Liberties and the fight for civil liberties acquired a significance of their own. We needed civil liberties—elementary democratic rights to be able to mobilise the people for the redress of their immediate grievance and infuse new courage and hope in them. Every civil liberty won becomes a shield for the people to advance to a new and forward position.

It was this realisation of the role of civil liberties as the shield of our freedom movement that led Nehru to launch the Indian Civil Liberties Union. It was also this that led the Congress to put the democratic rights of the people in the forefront of the Election Manifesto.

When the Congress accepted ministries, hopes ran high, fears melted away. Our own people had become Ministers. Our Ministers would now be able to check bureaucratic interference with the democratic rights of the people from within the Government itself. They would be able to guarantee and enlarge civil liberties. Civil liberties thus won could be used to further strengthen the movement of the people, their organisations and struggles. An extra-parliamentary movement, an

irresistible sanction behind the People's Ministers, could thus grow up.

The Congress Ministers released political prisoners, the press began to speak more freely, a new wave of mass struggles which had already begun, acquired a broader sweep and a greater vigour. The Congress Ministers however did not go all out for the full and speedy restoration of civil liberties but conceded them in a faltering hesitant manner. General repression relaxed but discrimination against the Left and particularly against the Communists continued (arrests at Cawnpore, delay in releasing the Communist internees in Bombay etc.), the Congress movement got more freedom to grow, but discrimination against the working class and peasant movements continued (use of Sec. 144 in Cawnpore strike and Sholapur, Emergency Powers Act during the Ahmedabad strike, despatch of punitive police and armed Gurkhas to the villages of Behar etc. etc.).

Despite these vacillations and discriminations the popular movement leapt forward on the basis of what had already been achieved. The tempo of the popular movement began mounting up. Imperialism saw the danger inherent in such a situation. It had planned to tame the Congress by influencing its Ministers to become "responsible" and maintain "law and order". It found the ministers being moved by the people more effectively than it could influence them. It resisted the demand for the release of the last batch of political prisoners but the ministers found the demand irresistible. This conflict resulted in the ministerial crisis. The indignation of the people against the bureaucratic interference with the work of the popular ministers knew no bounds. The entire Indian people stood united; Imperialism stood isolated.

The bureaucracy drew in its horns, it had to yield; but it made known that it was the master yet and meant to remain so. The Peoples' movement was driving forward the Ministers. Imperialism by its interference conveyed it to the Ministers that they must control the people. Imperialist interference was a warning to our ministers and a threat to our rising movement. Imperialism retraced its steps because it found the people standing solidly behind the ministers. It had brought about a crisis on the issue which it considered most vital for its own continued existence in our country and civil liberties are an equally vital issue for the extension and strengthening of our movement as well. Have our ministers learnt their lesson from this crisis?

The Calcutta A.I.C.C. showed how serious and widespread was the dissatisfaction with the work of the Congress ministers especially about enlarging and protecting civil liberties. All past protests were forgotten, no criticism was brought up when the delegates at Haripura heard of the ministerial resignations and the great fight they had put up to secure the release of political prisoners. It was an inspiring spectacle of national unity; never before had the ministers received such unstinted support.

After the bureaucracy climbed down and the Ministers scored a popular victory one would have imagined the only conceivable course left was to extend civil liberties more vigorously, to guard them more intently, rely upon and call for popular support on a more and more extensive scale and fight out bureaucratic resistance more determinedly. These are the simple lessons which were dramatically conveyed by the Ministerial crisis. There are unmistakable signs to show that the crisis has been almost wasted upon our Ministers. There is a greater display of timidity than courage, more eagerness to show that they can "GOVERN" rather than realise that it is their main task to strengthen the extra-parliamentary movement by

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giving it unfettered scope for development.

At Sholapur, on the initiative of the local Girni Kamgar Union, with the help of Congressmen and Socialists, a one day political protest strike in the mills and hartal in the town was organised on 14th February to observe the Political Prisoners Day. Nine of them, under a Congress Ministry got nine months each and four others six months each. What could be a greater scandal than this? These comrades organised working class strike on the same issue—release of political prisoners, over which the Ministers themselves had resigned and at exactly the same time. They however have been convicted and continue to rot in jails under a Congress Ministry!

At Cawnpore before the crisis the general Secretary of the Majdoor Sabha, Comrade Yusuf along with active T.U. workers was bound down to keep the peace. After the crisis the same fate has befallen comrade Santosh Chandra Kapoor, the joint secretary, and a band of rank and file Trade Unionists.

At Chirala three workers were shot dead during their heroic strike, which had been converted into a lockout, and instead of an unbiassed non-official Inquiry Committee, the Madras Cabinet appoints the same judge who convicted Batliwalla, for inquiry.

Those guilty of crimes, like lathi charging and firing on an unarmed mass have not been brought to book.

These are the latest instances and they can be multiplied.

These incidents acquire a still more dangerous significance when it is borne in mind that there is a tendency to blur the irreconcilable antagonism between British Imperialism and the Indian people; in the press and on the platform most of the ministers and some of our leaders do not hesitate to identify the Congress Cabinets with Congress Raj and forget the existence of the Slave Constitution whose autocratic character was made visible even to the blind during the ministerial crisis. Instances of the Congress Ministers advocating the bureaucratic theory of civil liberties (Madras Government's communique releasing Batliwala), of allowing the local bureaucracy to initiate repressive measures relying on the acquiescence of Congress Ministers (Cawnpore, Sholapur) are multiplying even after the last crisis.

All this is not the Congress line but the Liberal line, it forebodes danger for our movement for it is based on the idea of peace with Imperialism.

This is borne out by the fact that there is a persistent effort to liquidate our extra-parliamentary front. Immediately after the crisis 80 thousand Kisans marched to the Assembly chamber at Lucknow. The crisis had been resolved in the meanwhile but that did not deter the Kisans. Premier Pant however expressed himself that it would have been better for them to have dropped a post-card to him and he would have visited them rather than they take the trouble to come all the way to Lucknow! Even in the case of a non-Congress Ministry, in Bengal, Gandhiji has publicly asked that no demonstrations be taken out demanding the release of political prisoners and detenues on the ground that they interfere with negotiations. Relying on the sweet reasonableness of the enemy and not on popular support, divorcing negotiations from mass mobilisation, is being blind to the daily realities of our movement and having learnt nothing whatsoever from our past experiences. The change of heart theory had been buried deep long ago by Lord Willingdon himself; it was dug out by Gandhiji after the formation of Ministries, Lord Linlithgow knocked it down during the Ministerial crisis, but the dead past is not yet dead for some of our most influential leaders in whose hands lie crucial decisions.

Reaction cannot be won over, it must be crushed. Imperialism cannot

change, it must be overthrown. This follows from all the past experience of our movement, this is explicit in the Congress policy. The Congress can be carried to victory only by moving the masses behind its programme. If the Congress would leave the streets empty, the reactionaries would occupy them and seek to secure a mass basis for reaction, against the Congress. It is no accident that in U.P. the reactionaries could manufacture riots because they took courage when they saw that the communists were allowed to be suppressed while the communalists went scot-free. Immediately after Gandhiji's above statement, and feeling assured of the absence of any mass opposition the reactionary Huq ministry dared celebrate an All-Bengal Huq Ministry Day.

At Haripura, during the crisis, the entire Congress stood united. Communists, Congress Socialists, Kisan Sabhaites all swore solemn allegiance to the Congress. Danger sunk differences, and despite the gravest provocations to the Left, the Congress session became a grand moving demonstration of national Unity. In Behar where differences had become the acutest, the Congress High Command sought peace with the Kisan Sabha. Successful liquidation of the crisis ought to have led to a cementing of this unity, so that a united movement might be able to better meet the next crisis. This however has not happened. While the Left is making bold bids for unity, rapidly shedding all traces of sectarianism, a serious offensive against the national unity that was forged at Haripura has been launched by the Gandhi Seva Sangh from its annual session at Delang. Sardar Patel is vomitting blood against the Kisan Sabhas, existing Trade Unions are threatened to be split by starting rival Unions which are certain to secure recognition from the owners and the Government. The socialists, it is reported are being dictated terms, if they would remain within the Congress.

The critical question arises, where would it all lead us? If the role of civil liberties in our fight for freedom is missed, if the parliamentary work is unhinged from the extra-parliamentary movement of the people, if the people are lulled into sleep simply because Congress Ministries exist, if the national Congress fights the Kisan Sabhas and the Trade Unions, we are just becoming good meat for Imperialism, with our ranks divided, our ministers divorced from the masses, our popular organisations fightihg each other. This is splitting rather than consolidating our strength. It is disrupting and not maintaing national unity. It is fighting among ourselves and not uniting to fight imperialism while the inauguration of the Federation daily comes nearer, while the imminence of a world war becomes more menacing.

We have no reason to feel gloomy though it would be folly to under-estimate the gravity of the situation at this initiation of an anti-unity, anti-struggle drive by the Gandhi Seva Sangh. There are enough signs to show that this policy which is manifestly a repudiation of every basic resolution of Faizpur and Haripura Congress, can be successfully defeated. Much more than the objective situation is in our favour. The campaign for the legalisation of the Communist Party has found undreamt of support. It has been supported by local Congress Committees everywhere and in several provinces even by the Provincial Congress Committees and their leading functionaries. Despite Gandhiji's line, the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee celebrated the 14th of March, on a grand scale, as All-Bengal Political Prisoners Day. Kisan Sabhas are going strong. Everywhere Trade Unions are leading successful strikes and growing in strength. States peoples are boldly coming forward into the arena of struggle. The many-sided extra-parliamentary movement every-

where is sweeping forward and showing no signs of ebbing away. There is a greater determination then ever before to work up the Congress as the united national front of the Indian people. The Trade Unions of Bombay for example, are actively participating in the National week and conducting a special Congress enrolment campaign among the workers. The united A.I.T.U.C. and A.I.K.S. Congresses are meeting this month wheu they will discuss the problems of not only strengthening their class might but together with it and through it the national unity already embodied in the National Congress. Before this appears in print the A.I.C.S.P. Conference will have met and by paving the way to Socialist-Communist Unity it an give the most effective answer to the Delang lead and draw the one supreme lesson from recent happenings —the National Congress will not automatically grow over into the United National Front, influential elements within the Congress vigorously oppose this development and stultify the Congress. It is the task of the Left, of the Congress Socialists and the Communists, to be the driving-force behind the movement for United National Front, i.e. put into practice through and within the Congress the policy of United National Front. The Left cannot fulfil this arduous role unless the Congress Socialists and the Communists unite and unite immediately. Time is sliping away, Federation and the world war are drawing nearer and nearer.

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MEXICO

Sharaf Athar Ali

Most people know little and care less about Mexico and the South American Republics. Too often they are thought of as continuing the fiction writers' dream of petty states, governed by dictators who rival one another in corruption, and where revolution is, if not a daily, at all events an annual occurrence. Actually the future lies with the South American Republics, with their rich natural resources, their inherited Spanish culture and traditions, rather than with the armed fascist barbarians of Europe. But just as in Europe all forces which stand for Progress and Culture are united against the menace of Fascism, so too Mexico and the South American Republics face the dangers of reactionary Fascist Imperialism. In Spain to-day there is the open war of Fascist Imperialism opposing and seeking to crush the Popular Front Spanish Government. In the new world tomorrow Mexico may very well be the scene of a similar struggle.

Mexico is rather less than half the size of India but has only one twentieth of India's population. Mexico is one of the great oil producing contries, which together with the mining products account for production equal in value to that of all agriculture and perhaps 60 per cent of all manufactures. Both the oil and mining industries are largely controlled by foreign companies, American, British, German, French and Spanish. The American Smelting and Refining Company controls most of the important foundries, smelters and refineries, and has thus an effective monopoly of nearly all mining activity. The Royal Dutch Shell subsidiary in Mexico controls about 60% of the total crude oil production, and Standard Oil and other American concerns control 35% leaving a mere 5% in the hands of private Mexicans and the Government. So far as manufactures go 50% comes from foreign companies. Thus the telephone service is controlled by two companies, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and the Swedish Ericcson trust, 35% of whose capital is controlled by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Electricity in the same way is divided between the American Electric Bond and Share Company and the Mexican subsidiary of Sofina. Recently the Mexican Government nationalised the railways which till then had been controlled by The International Bankers Committee. In agriculture the share of foreigners is less obvious but none the less important. Thus the wheat and cotton plantations in La Laguna are foreign owned; so too are sugar estates and refineries in Sinaloa, Puebla and Vera Cruz; the coffee plantations in Chiapas and Oaxaca, and the huge American agricultural concern in Sonora known as the Richardson Construction Company. The remainder of the land is divided between the *ejidos* (village collective associations) who now are cultivating about 5,00,00,000 acres, and the *haciendas* (semi-feudal estates of the landlords) which cover some 15,00,00,000 acres. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the Mexican masses are living mostly in wretched conditions of poverty, and that politically the masses are anti-Imperialist. They see the wealth which is produced and their only share in it is limited to the wages paid to agricultural and industrial workers, and the taxes the Government collects.

In 1910 Mexico entered on a period of revolution and war, and the present constitution which is one of the most

(Continued on page 521).

CONGRESS BUDGETS: 1938—39

Economist

We have to assess the value or significance of the Congress Budgets for 1938-39 in the light of the following questions:—

How do these budgets redistribute the burden of taxation as between the richer and the poorer classes? In other words, how much of the burden is transferred from the shoulders of the poor to those of the rich ?

What new sources of taxation have been tapped ?

What is the extent and nature of the economy measures ?

What new provisions have been made for the beneficent or nation building department, and how far has the wasteful expenditure on the maintenance of law and order been reduced?

The inability of the Congress Ministries to effect any important changes in their first budgets i. e, the budgets for 1937-38 was understandable. Most of those budgets had been framed by the interim ministries, and the Congress Ministers, when they took over the charge, could not easily scrap up a financial scheme that had already been put into operation; hence a few minor readjustments were made and the bigger changes were left over for the next financial year.

It was expected that the Congress budgets for 1938-39 would mark a big step forward towards the long needed rationalisation of provincial finance. It was expected that the burden of taxation on the poorer classes would be materially reduced, that the richer classes would be made to contribute more to the exchequer, that the present wasteful expenditure on Civil administration would be substantially curtailed that adequate provision will be made for a rapid development of the beneficent or nation building services.

Do the 1938-39 Congress budgets fulfil these expectations? It is difficult to feel enthusiastic about any of these budgets because they fail to come to grips with the financial problems either on the side of revenue or on that of expenditure. One feels inclined to believe that in all of them there is too much of window dressing, too much of caution and financial 'rectitude'. The fundamentals are left untouched; the whole basis and even the external framework of the pre-Congress budgets are maintained.

Even a cursory glance at these budgets will reveal the following facts:

1. That the burden of taxation continues to weigh most heavily on the poorer classes.

2. That hardly any new taxation has been levied on the richer classes.

3. That the reduction in the expenditure on Civil Administration and particularly on the services relating to the maintenance of Law and Order is almost negligible.

4. That generally speaking the increase in the expenditure on the beneficent services is highly inadequate.

5. That fresh capital expenditure for material development is very meagre.

Let us take these points one by one.

It is a well known fact that the bulk of provincial revenue in India is derived from the pockets of the poor. The

burden of Land Revenue, which is the mainstay of provincial finance, falls entirely on the poverty stricken peasant masses whose holdings are overwhelmingly uneconomic. The income from Excise, the next most important source of revenue is mainly drawn from the taxation of those intoxicants which are consumed by the poorer elements. A very substantial part of the revenue from Stamps and Registration is contributed by the poorer classes. These four heads of revenue are responsible for most of the provincial income, and it is obvious that as long as they contribute the major share to the exchequer, the poorer sections of the population will remain overburdened with taxation.

Have the Congress budgets tackled the problem of giving relief from taxation to the poor classes? No. Take, for example, Land Revenue. In the United Provinces the expected yield from Land revenue in 1938-39 is higher than yield (revised estimate) in 1937-38. In the latter year it was Rs. 5.90, 94, 200 while for current year it is estimated at Rs. 6 11, 87, 135.

This means that no provision whatever has been made for a reduction in the rents of the U.P. peasantry. In fact on the other hand, the memorandum of the Finance Secretary for the U. P. states that the slump remissions are expected to be reduced by 17 lakhs; the estimate of calamity remissions have been reduced by one lakh and the suspensions have been put at Rs.2½ lakhs against 3 lakhs in the previous year. In Madras the total land revenue receipts according to the revised estimate for 1937-38 amounted to Rs. 499.71 lakhs, the 1938-39 budget estimates the total revenue receipts at Rs. 499.21 lakhs, thus leaving the position more or less the same. In the Central Provinces, the estimated land revenue receipts for 1938-39 which amount to Rs. 2,49,48,000 are higher by about 9 lakhs than the revised receipts for 1937-38, which were Rs. 2,40,43,000. In Bombay too, the estimated land revenue receipts for 1938-39 (Rs. 3,39, 84,000) are higher than the revised receipts for 1937-38 (Rs. 3,18,98,000) by about Rs. 21 lakhs. It is thus obvious that the agricultural classes, will not, receive any relief from direct taxation during the next financial year.

Excise revenue has registered a decline in all the Congress Provinces except in Madras, where it has shown an increase of 1·87 lakhs over the budget estimate of last year. This has been caused not by a reduction in excise duties, but as a result of the first instalment of Prohibition reforms in certain limited areas. Whereever prohibition has not been enforced the excise duties continue to weigh on the poorer classes as heavily as before.

Nor have the Stamps and Registration duties been reduced anywhere. In fact the estimated revenue under these heads is higher in several provinces than the revenue for the previous year.

It is noteworthy that in the United Provinces as in the Central Provinces no provision has been made for a reduction in the Water Tax, which constitutes one of the heaviest burdens on the peasantry. The gross receipts from Irrigation in the United Provinces is expected to increase by Rs. 35¾ lakhs during 1938-39.

While the overwhelming weight of taxation on the poorer elements has been maintained, the tax burden on the richer classes has not been appreciably enhanced. With the exception of the taxation of certain big agricultural incomes in Bihar and the increase in certain luxury taxes in some of the Provinces, the rich have completely escaped fresh taxation.

Thus, on the revenue side there is hardly anything in the 1938-39 Congress budgets which can justify their being called popular budgets.

A glance at the expenditure side of these budgets will show, that the long

standing problem of over inflated expenditure on the services concerned primarily with the maintenance of law and order has been virtually ignored. The economy measures so far effected in this respect have been highly inadequate. In the United Provinces, for example, the 1938-39 budget assigns to General Administration Rs. 1,44,86,866 as against Rs. 1,47,46,520 assigned in the last year's budget, thus effecting a small reduction of Rs. 2½ lakhs. The Administration of Justice receives Rs. 71,22,236 in 1938-39 as against Rs. 71,27,285 spent under this head in 1938-39 (revised estimate). The total expenditure on Jails and Convict Settlements amounted to Rs. 30,62,948 in 1937-38 (revised estimate); the present budget has placed this expenditure at a slightly higher figure of Rs. 31,35,424. The total expenditure assigned to the U. P. Police in the present budget is slightly higher than the revised expenditure during the last financial year. The estimated expenditure under this head for 1938-39 is Rs.1,66,50,500 as against Rs.1,66,35,547 spent on this account (revised estimate) in 1937-38.

In Madras the position is almost similar. The 1938-39 budget assigns Rs. 281. 67 lakhs to General Administration as against the revised expenditure of Rs. 283. 72 lakhs on this account in 1937-38. The Administration of Justice receives Rs. 95.58 lakhs as against the revised expenditure of Rs. 93.98 lakhs during the previous year. Jails and Convict Settlements are allotted Rs. 23.89 lakhs as against Rs. 24.06 lakhs spent under this head in 1937-38 (revised). The estimated expenditure on Police during 1938-39 is very slightly less than the expenditure of last year. The present budget puts it at Rs. 161.39 lakhs, while the revised expenditure on this account in 1937-38 amounted to Rs. 161.89 lakhs.

In the Bombay budget, the expenditure on General Administration is reduced from Rs. 1,02,95,000 (revised estimate 1937-38) to Rs. 80,50,000 The expenditure on the Administration of Justice marks an increase from Rs. 62,58,000 (1937-38) (revised) to Rs. 67,17,000 while the amount to be spent on Jails and Convict Settlements is reduced from Rs. 17,38,000 (1937-38) to Rs. 16,59,000. The sum assigned to Police in the present budget is slightly less than the amount spent during the last financial year; it is Rs. 1,41,88,000 as against Rs. 1,42,08,000 spent during 1937-38 (revised).

The 1938-39 budget of the Central Provinces also introduces very small economies on this account. As compared with the revised estimates for 1937-38, it has reduced expenditure on General Administration by Rs. 1,20,000, on Administration of Justice by Rs. 56,000, on Jails and Convict Settlements by Rs. 20,000 and on Police by Rs. 1,49,000.

It is, thus, obvious that the 1938-39 budgets have not at all seriously tackled the question of the highly unproductive and wasteful expenditure on the maintenance of Law and Order. They have merely attempted to economise here and there through minor readjustments and the removal of certain glaringly undesirable features of that expenditure, but they have left the whole top heavy and inefficient administrative machinery intact.

This has naturally reacted adversely on the provisions made for the development of the beneficent services. The rapid expansion of these services is, no doubt, the primary concern of every Congress ministry, but the problems that face us in this respect are so big and intricate that unless a bold forward policy is adopted, no appreciable improvement in the situation can be expected in the near future. What is needed is that Congress budgets should definitely be weighted in favour of these services, just as all the pre-Congress budgets were overwhelm-

ingly weighted in favour of the machinery for the maintenance of law and order. Unfortunately the 1938-39 budgets do not mark a big step forward in this direction. There is no doubt an increase in the total expenditure on the beneficent services, and in some cases the increase is fairly substantial, but on the whole, taking the needs of the situation into account, the progress made so far can hardly be considered satisfactory.

Let us look at the problem of illiteracy. It is obvious that with 91 per cent of the population remaining illiterate, a few lakhs more in a year to be spent on education would not, in any province, touch even the fringe of the problem. Far bigger financial grants will have to be provided for even to make a modest start against illiteracy. But, unfortunately the additional sums alloted to education are nowhere, except in Bombay, even remotely consistent with the educational requirements of the people. The Madras budget provides for a total expenditure of Rs. 2,61,57 lakhs on education during 1938-39, as against Rs. 2,58,71 spent on this account in 1937-38 and Rs. 2,56,33 spent in 1936-37, when the Congress was not in office. In the U. P. the expenditure on education shows in the present budget a total increase of only about 3 lakhs over last year's budget estimate. In the Central Provinces too the total increase is about Rs. 2¾ lakhs. In Bihar the additional grant is even samller. In Orissa Education receives an extra sum of only about Rs. 6000. It is in Bombay alone that the grant for education has been substantially raised, that is by Rs. 22 lakhs, from Rs. 1,68,70 lakhs (1937-38 revised) to Rs. 1,91,15 lakhs (1938-39).

What applies to the problem of education, applies with even greater force to the problem of Public Health. Here again the budgets fail to make adequate additional grants. In the United Provinces, the total grant for Public Health in the present budget (Rs. 23,47,602) is even less than the grant made by the 1937-38 budget (Rs, 23,82,489). The new grant for the Medical Department in the U. P. is higher only by about a lakh. In Bombay, Public Health receives Rs. 32,03,000 as against Rs. 31,98,000 sanctioned in the last year's budget, while the Medical Department receives 45,91,000 as against Rs. 43,43,000 of the last year. In Madras Public Health receives about 5 lakhs more than the last budget, while the Medical Department gets about Rs. 60,000 more. In the C. P. the grant for public Health from Rs. 3,99,000 to Rs. 4,73,000 while the expenditure on the Medical Department has been increased by Rs. 1,24,000.

Agriculture and Industry do not receive substantial help in any province except in the United Provinces. In fact the expenditure allotted to Agriculture in Madras has been reduced from Rs. 23.80 lakhs in 1937-38 (budget) to Rs. 23.05 lakhs in 1938-39. The amount assigned to Industries has been similarly reduced from Rs. 27.45 lakhs to Rs. 27·17 lakhs. In Bombay the estimated expenditure on Agriculture shown in the present budget is slightly higher than that of the last year; it is Rs. 14,83,000 as aginst Rs. 14,14,000 included in the last budget. Industries in Bombay receive a slightly higher grant, that is, Rs. 11,63,000 as compared with Rs 9,35,000 of the last year. In the Central Provinces Agriculture receives this year an additional grant of only Rs. 3000, while Industry receives an additional sum of Rs. 8000.

It is in the United Provinces alone that the amount shown under Agriculture in this year's budget shows a big increase over last year's grant. The estimated expenditure under this head during 1938-39 is Rs. 71,24,561, as against Rs. 39,13,206 sanctioned in the 1937-38 budget. Of this increase Rs. 30½ lakhs are due to the increased

expenditure on Rural Uplift. Industries receive an additional grant of Rs. 2¾ lakhs, of which Rs. 1¾ lakhs are on account of new expenditure on various items, notable among which are the extension of the gur industry scheme, investigation into the use of molasses etc.

Then, take the Cooperative Credit or the Veterinary departments. In Madras the grant for Cooperative Credit this year is smaller than the last year's grant by about Rs. 3000, while the sum allotted to the Veterinary department shows this year an increase of only Rs. 14,000. In Bombay Cooperative Credit receives only Rs. 11000 more than the previous year, while Veterinary Dept. receives Rs.3000 more. The 1938-39 budget of the Central Provinces allows to Co-operation only Rs. 11000 more than the last year's revised expenditure under this head while the expenditure on Veterinary is reduced by Rs. 17000.

The provision for Famine relief has been reduced in most of the Provinces. The Madras budget has this year sanctioned no grant under this head, whereas last year the total expenditure on Famine Relief amounted to Rs. 29000. In Bombay, the present budget sanctions only Rs. 3,34,000 for Famine, as against Rs. 6,50,000 spent on this account last year. The C.P. budget has this year reduced the grant for Famine Relief from Rs. 4000 to Rs. 1000. It is the U.P. budget alone which has increased this grant from Rs. 61,560,000 to Rs. 97,840,000.

Lastly it may be observed that capital expenditure on material development, which should constitute a major item of public expenditure in a backward country like India, has been very poorly provided for.. In Madras, capital expenditure (not charged to revenue) for the construction of Irrigation, Navigation etc. has been reduced from Rs. 25.62 lakhs in the last year's budget to Rs. 8.50 lakhs in the present budget. The Capital outlay on Electric Schemes has been similarly reduced from Rs. 1,18.91 lakhs to Rs. 97.38 lakhs. In Bombay some increase has been shown this year in the Capital expenditure (not charged to revenue) on Construction of Irrigation, Navigation etc; the amount has been raised from Rs. 2,55,000 to Rs. 3,44,000. The Capital outlay on improvement of Public Health has been slightly increased from Rs. 1,52,000 (1937-38 budget) to Rs. 1,63,000. The Capital expenditure (not charged to revenue) on the Bombay Development Scheme has on the other hand been reduced from Rs. 7,65,000 (1937-38 budget) to Rs. 4,77,000. In the Central Provinces, capital expenditure on the construction of irrigation, navigation etc. has on the whole been increased by Rs. 8. lakhs, while in the United Provinces the capital expenditure on Irrigation and Hydro Electric works not met from revenue has been reduced from Rs. 82,72,700 (1937-38 budget) to Rs 15,84,300 (1938-39 budget).

Space does not permit us here to analyse in greater detail the figures given above, and to consider their various implications. It would, however, be clear that the Congress Budgets of 1938-39 cannot claim a distinct superiority over the pre-Congress budgets. There is no change in the basic scheme of taxation or expenditure; only certain items on the expenditure side have been given a little preferential treatment.

When we look at the magnitude of social and economic problems that stare us in the face, and the host of expectations that were aroused on the acceptance of ministries by the Congress, the insignificance of the few additional grants provided for in the recent budgets is brought into an almost tragic relief. We do not know how long the Congress ministries will be in office. But it is obvious that in the enactment of the ameliorative

programme by our ministries, the time factor is exceedingly important. The Congress majorities were returned on a wave of mass enthusiasm and in distinct support of a clear-cut anti-imperialist programme. That enthusiasm can be reinforced and consolidated into a powerful movement against Imperialism, only if the popular ministries keep in the forefront of their programme the immediate satisfaction of all the major economic demands of the masses. The agrarian problem is getting acuter every day; the working class is facing increasing unemployment and a falling standard of life, the lower middle class is feeling the pinch of growing pauperisation. The united strength of all these classes is behind the Congress Ministries; they are willing to go with the Congress to the bitter end. Let our ministers therefore break through the impediments that the bureaucracy and the vested interests are placing in their way, let them identify themselves with the desires, aspirations and struggles of those toiling millions who are the backbone of the movement for national emancipation; let them make their ameliorative programme a lever for drawing every exploited section of the Indian people into the fight against imperialism; let their legislative activities serve to bring greater strength and a higher consciousness to the struggle of the masses in the fields and factories.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE REVISIONIST ROY—IV.

By Bholanath Bhoumik

The Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin performed the "wonders of proletarian organisation" between April and November. They created within these few months, the instrument of proletarian leadership powerful and disciplined political army, which alone could ensure victory. The membership of the Bolshevik party increased TENFOLD during those months. They formulated and carried out the correct tactics towards the peasantry. In the preparation for November and immediately after, they marched under the slogan of the closest alliance with the peasantry against the bourgeois compromisers and the petty-bourgeois vascillators (Social revolutionaries and Mensheviks). They successfully neutralised the middle peasantry and counteracted the resistance of the rich farmers. They fully realised with Lenin that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be achieved only as a form of alliance with the poorest sections of the peasantry. The Bolsheviks would not have been victorious, would not have been able to turn "the extremely favourable internal and external conditions" created by the war to account, had they not grasped these fundamental slogans, which were sharply formulated in that epoch-making document 'The April Thesis' and carried them out with precision and firmness. The war was undoubtedly "the great Regisseur", the powerful accelerator of events, but the motive

power behind the victory was the proletariat, its organisation, initiative and above all its correct relation towards the peasantry.

This crucial fact about the November Revolution is suppressed by Roy. He has nowhere mentioned the April thesis and the decisive historical role they played during April and November. He has nowhere brought out the role of the Bolshevik party, the revolutionary party of the proletariat. He has nowhere analysed the relations which the Bolsheviks developed with different sections of the peasantry. It is only by suppressing these facts, he can put forward the pretence of a proof for his original thesis. This falsification of history is essential for him to "prove" that the state created by the November Revolution "even in the beginning" was not a dictatorship of the proletariat "in the strict sense of the Term." Only on its basis can he proceed further to his next "Thesis" that the introduction of the New Economic Policy in 1920 meant "a surrender of the DICTATORSHIP of the proletariat while the leadership remained."

Was N. E. P. A Surrender?

Once again Roy can only prove his theories about N. E. P. by distorting history and by supperssing facts. The purpose of N. E. P. was undoubtedly to rehabilitate the shattered agrariam and industrial economy in Russia, to prepare the basis for rapid industrialisation and thus for socialism. It did make concessions to the peasantry as a whole. It re-introduceed private trade, created conditions under which the rich peasants could for a time "get rich". N. E. P. did mean a certain latitude to the already existing elements of capitalism. But this was only one aspect of N. E. P. its capitalist aspect-the aspect which Lenin characterised as 'one step backwards'.

Roy stresses only this one aspect of the N. E. P. because only thus can he prove his thesis. To Roy, N. E. P. means concessions to the peasanty as a whole at the expense of the immediate interest of the proletariat. To him N. E. P. is the strengthening of capitalist elements in the small-scale individual peasant economy, the surrender of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He conceives the whole role of the N. E. P. according to the following mechanical scheme: Rehabilitate capitalism in peasant economy by allowing private trade. This stimulates production by rich peasants. Agricultural production increases, more surplus is available for export, more means of production (machinery) can be imported, industrialisation progresses—basis for socialism is laid. In this vulgarisation the proletarian dictatorship has no role to play. It is surrendered and the novel "fundamental lesson" of the Russian Revolution announced that "the dictatorship of the proletariat is not an indispensable condition for the construction of socialism". Roy further enlightens us that as a result of N. E. P. the party of the proletariat the C. P. S. U. began to be transformed into a peasant party.

A Trotskyist Argument

This muddle which Roy presents us as something original is again a patchwork made from discarded theories of the Trotskyists and the oppositionists. N. E. P. was, according to Roy, not a short time strategy of the proletarian state in order to strengthen the socialist elements and to build socialism. No. It was the beginning of a new "unforeseen" development towards socialism in which the dictatorship of the proletariat plays no part. This neo-capitalist development, was made 'inevitable' by "the failure of the proletariat to capture power in the more advanced countries." (p. 8 No. 35) In other words, because of the "impossibility of building socialism in a single country" this type of development was "pre-determined."

Roy is thus putting across the same arguments with which Trotsky and later the new opposition opposed N.E.P. But as he has to struggle in this discredited reasoning in 1938 he must 'formally' dissociate himself from Trotsky and the New opposition in words. He tells us that both Trotsky and the new opposition were wrong. But how does he prove them wrong? He does not point out how both Trotsky and the New Opposition saw only the "capitalist aspect" of N.E.P., and failed to see how it was at the same time a strategy of struggle against the capitalist elements in the rural economy. On the other hand Roy "disagrees" with the Trotskyist point of view because it fails to recognise that "Russian Revolution was not a 'pure socialist revolution', because it fails to see the necessity of surrendering the dictatorship of the proletariat, because it fails to see 'the inevitability of the conversion of the proletarian party into a peasant party"!

It is impossible in the short space of this article to discuss the New Economic Policy in all its details to show in what measures it was a retreat, how this retreat was combined with the socialist offensive of the proletarian state which "occupied the commanding heights of Soviet economy", and how later the offensive progressively replaced the retreat until the final liquidation of the N.E.P. and the going over to an all round advance in the form of the First Five Year plan and the collectivisation drive. We must advise the inquiring reader to study the relevant articles and reports of Stalin dealing with this question which are available in English in his two volumes of Leninism. The most important material on this question is of course the speeches and the articles of Lenin during the last 5 years of his life which however are not yet fully available in English. Our purpose in this article is merely to unmask the Trotskyist character of Roy's generalisations and to place against them the correct formulations of Lenin and Stalin and to expose the flagrant falsifications by which Roy supports his arguments.

Roy generalises: "The New Economic Policy implied that the socialist mode of production could not be introduced before the country had been industrialised on a large scale, FOR WHICH PURPOSE THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION HAD TO BE RETAINED". In order to prove this, he misquotes Lenin from memory and makes him say this: "ours is an industrially backward country. The proletariat is very small numerically .. so if we want to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat LET US BEGIN BY CREATING THE PROLETARIAT and for this purpose we shall have to adopt any policy that will hasten the industrialisation of our country." Lenin is supposed to have said this in 1920 before the All Russian Congress of Soviets!

The Leninist Conception of N.E.P.

In the speech which Lenin delivered in December 1920, at the Eighth Congress of Soviets, on the very eve of the introduction of N.E.P. he did show the backward nature of Russia. Lenin put the matter very sharply. "As long as we live in a petty peasant country," he said, "there will be a more solid economic basis for capitalism than for Communism." He knew that the "roots of capitalism" were not yet eradicated and that they formed "the basis of the internal enemy." That is why he declares:—

"There is only one way of undermining him, (the internal enemy) to transform the economic life of the country, INCULDING AGRICULTURE, on a new technical basis of modern large scale production. That basis is electricity. Communism is the Soviet Government plus electrification of the whole country." Stalin: Leninism Vol. II English Edition p. 157.)

What are the points which are implicit in Lenin's conception of the N.E.P.?

Firstly, Lenin's starting point is the possibility of establishing complete socialism in the Soviet Union. Therefore to him N.E.P. is not a question of "retaining the capitalist elements" but working out a strategy of opening an offensive against the remaining roots of capitalism.

Secondly, N.E.P. is not a mere policy of industrialisation but of industrialisation carried out under circumstances in which the proletarian state is in command of the economic key positions, (industry, land, transport, banks etc).

Thirdly, N.E.P. meant the linking up of socialised industry with agriculture, that is, it was a policy "by which the bulk of the peasantry is gradually brought into line with socialist construction through the medium of co-operative societies, which in the hands of the dictatorship of the proletariat, represent a powerful instrument for the transformation of the peasant economy and of the main masses of the peasantry in the spirit of socialism" (Stalin).

Fourthly, N.E.P. did mean a change in the policy of the proletarian state towards the peasantry, but it did not mean a complete cessation of war against the exploiting rich peasants, the Kulaks. In essence it ensured alliance and an agreement of the triumphant proletariat with the *middle peasant.* We saw that in the period of preparation for November and immediately thereafter, the proletariat built up a firm alliance with the poorest sections of the peasantry and neutralised the the middle peasants. The three years of Soviet power and of successful struggle against the counter-revolutionary generals and landlords brought the middle peasant definitely towards the side of the proletariat. Besides this, the character of the peasant situation was already changing; the middle peasant had become the dominant mass peasant type. Lenin put the matter briefly thus:—

"The extremes of wealth and poverty among the peasants have been reduced and the majority of the rural population has begun to approximate to the type of middle peasant......The change of policy towards the peasants is to be explained by the fact that the situation of the peasantry has altered. The rural areas have become mere 'middle peasant' in character. If we wish to increase agricultural production we must take this into account" (Lenin in 1921 quoted by Stalin in Leninism Vol. I English Edition p. 430).

These important features of the N.E.P. which bring out the fact of its at the same time being an offensive against the remnants of capital, are not mentioned by Roy at all. Roy is of course conversant with all the discussions which took place on this questions between the years 1920-27. He has had the opportunity to watch the rapid economic development of those years, to learn at first hand the twists and turns through which the Bolshevik party under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin steered the policy of the proletarian state, in the highly complicated situation. But to-day he chooses to suppress facts and distort history in order to establish the Trotskyist thesis by the back door, in order to discredit and vulgarise the achievements of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, in order to repudiate Marxism and Leninism.

Russia of N. E. P. has become Socialist Russia.

N.E.P. strengthened the position of the Kulaks, says Roy in unison with Trotsky. But he does not tell us that the attack against the profit builders and the Kulaks began a year after its introduction, a fact which is even mentioned by the Webbs. Roy tells us that as a result of N. E. P the Bolshevik party became trans-

formed into a peasant party. The party undoubtedly increased vastly its influence among the rural toilers especially among the poorest peasants who were its main allies in the Revolution and in the civil war. But the proletarian membership rose far more rapidly than its peasant membership. According to figures quoted by Stalin, the percentage of the proletarians and of the peasants in the party in 1924 was 44 and 28 respectively. The figures for 1925 were 59 and 24. (Leninism Vol. I. P. 419). Do these figures show that the proletarian party was becoming a peasant party after 4-5 years of N.E.P.? Of course not. Roy has to hide the reality in order to prove his original thesis of the surrender of the Proletarian dictatorship.

"N.E.P. is a retreat, a return to capitalism" shouted the imperialists in 1921. They fondly hoped to see the liquidation of Socialism.

"N.E.P. is capitalism. N.E.P. is retreat" said Trotsky and his followers. They had no faith in the power of the proletariat and in its state and its party. They had no faith in the proletarian dictatorship, as an alliance with the broad masses of toiling peasantry, as an instrument of transforming petty-peasant economy—through the co-operative plan of Lenin—into large scale collectivised socialist agriculture, as a weapon for building socialist industry.

"N.E.P. is capitalism and it is good" said they. They did not want to move against the Kulaks, they did not want to open the socialist offensive.

History has proved every one of them false. Lenin's prophecy that "Russia of N. E. P. will become Socialist Russia" has come true and exactly in the manner herein indicated. "Ten or twenty years of correct relations with the peasantry and victory on a world scale is assured EVEN IF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONS NOW DEVELOPING ARE DELAYED" (in 1920). The expected proletarian revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries were delayed. They were not successful. That undoubtedly made the task of building socialism in Russia difficult, long and arduous. But it was not rendered impossible; nor was it necessary to proceed along a path of development "unforeseen by Marx".

Roy always talks of the PURE proletarian revolutions and of the dictatorship of the proletariat IN THE STRICT SENSE of the term. He will have us believe that what came into existence in Russia was not proletarian dictatorship in the strict theoretical sense. Does he mean to tell us that pure proletarian dictatorship will only be realised at a stage when the process of class-differentiation has been completed, when the entire class of small land holding peasants has been finally transformed into agricultural proletariat under a fully mechanised capitalist agrarian economy? Marx and Engels who first developed the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat have no such idea. They fully realised that the proletariat in power would have to tackle the problem of the small land holding peasant. They knew full well that the proletarian revolution could only succeed in the closest alliance with the poorest peasantry and be carried forward with the support of the broad masses of the toiling peasants. Not only the success of the November Revolution but its subsequent development has closely followed the broad outline envisaged by Marx and Engels. The concretisation of the conception of the proletarian dictatorship as a form of alliance with the toiling sections of the peasantry is the most significant contribution of Lenin to Marxism. Not only this, Lenin before his death had already worked out the complete plan by which the proletarian state, allying itself with the middle peasants, could expand the socialised sector of large

scale industry, could transform the petty peasant economy into large scale collective farming and build up a strong socialist bond between industry and agriculture. The Bolshevik Party has successfully carried out the plan in practice under the leadership of Stalin. From N.E.P. with the help of the Co-operative plan of Lenin on the one hand and the building up of heavy industries on the other, the proletarian state has passed over to the collectivisation of agriculture, has liquidated the last capitalist class—the Kulaks—has achieved complete Socialism on the entire region of Soviet economy.

This development has not meant the surrendering of the proletarian dictatorship, but its strengthening, its transformation into real proletarian democracy. This development has followed a path which was already brilliantly foreseen by Engels. In his article on the "Peasant Problem in France and Germany" Engels wrote :--

"When we are in possession of the powers of the state, we shall not even dream of forcibly expropriating the poor peasants, the small holders (with or without compensation) as we shall have to do in relation to the large landowners. OUR TASK AS REGARDS THE SMALL HOLDERS WILL FIRST OF ALL CONSIST IN TRANSFORMING THEIR INDIVIDUAL PRODUCTION INTO CO-OPERATIVE OWNERSHIP NOT FORCIBLY, BUT BY WAY OF EXAMPLE, AND BY OFFERING SOCIAL AID FOR THIS PURPOSE" (quoted by Lenin in Encyclopaedia article on "The Teaching of Karl Marx")

This passage written decades before the success of November, beautifully sums up the tasks which the proletarian dictatorship carried out in relation to the peasantry, tasks which have culminated in the triumph of collectivisation and the victory of socialism in Russia. The pseudo-learned originalities of Roy about the "non-conventional path not foreseen by Marx" are entirely out of place and unfounded.

THE FINAL VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE U. S. S. R.

J. Stalin.

[Recently Com. Masani made a rather sensational announcement in the Congress Socialist (vol. 3. No. 12, 19th March 1938.) He believed that he had discovered evidence that the Comintern had once again made a change of tactics. Com. Masani hastened to take the public into confidence. On the strength of a quotation from a recent letter of Com. Stalin he tried to make out that the Comintern had given up the policy of building up the popular front. It was now going to concentrate exclusively on the workers' front in the capitalist countries and the Anti-imperialist Front in the colonies.

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The I.L.P. in England and the Trotskyists are trying their best to fight the tactic of the popular front which the Communists are successfully employing to combat fascism and war. The disruptive designs of the Trotskyists have failed both in Spain and in France. The working class in Europe is rallying in greater and greater numbers behind the policy of building the broader front to check here and now the advance of the fascist war-mongers. The closing front of the workers is the moving core of the broader front. The one cannot be counterposed against the other in the present situation. The working class the world over has grasped the point, and is now able to recognise in Trotskyism and its allied trends, the artful efforts of the enemy to split the growing unity of the people against itself. The organised workers of Mexico recently in a monster demonstration demanded the expulsion of Trotsky—on the ground of his anti-working class and disruptive activities.

But Com. Masani, who has been, for some time past popularising the line of the I. L. P. and Trotsky and attempting to present it as the true Leninist line has learned nothing.

He now wants the Indian Socialists to believe that Com. Stalin himself has come over to the line of Trotsky and the I. L. P. We are reproducing below the original letter of Stalin which was written in reply to a letter from a young communist Ivanoff. We leave the reader to judge for himself the evidence in full—which comrade Masani made the basis of his "change of front" theory. The Reader will learn one more thing from this article. He will grasp the full implication of the formulation. "The final and irrevocable victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union". E. D]

Ivanov to Stalin.

Dear Comrade Stalin,

I earnestly request you to explain the following question: In the local districts here and even in the Regional Committee of the Young Communist League, a two-fold conception prevails about the final victory of Socialism in our country, i. e. the first group of contradictions is confused with the second.

In your works on the destiny of Socialism in the U. S. S. R. you speak of two groups of contradictions—internal and external.

As for the first group of contradictions, we have, of course, solved them—within the country, Socialism is victorious.

I would like to have your answer about the second group of contradictions, i. e., those between the land of Socialism and capitalism.

You point out that the final victory of Socialism implies the solution of the external contradictions, that we must be fully guaranteed against intervention and, consequently, against the restoration of capitalism.

But this group of contradictions can be solved only by the efforts of the workers of all countries.

Besides, Comrade LENIN taught us that "we can achieve final victory only on a world scale, only by the joint efforts of the workers of all countries."

While attending the class for staff propagandists at the Regional Committee of the Y. C. L., I, basing myself on your works, said that the final victory of Socialism is possible only on a world scale. But the leading regional committee workers—Urozhenko, First Secretary of the Regional Committee, and Kazelkov, propaganda instructor—describe my statement as a Trotskyist sortie.

I began to read to them passages from your works on this question, but

Urozhenko ordered me to close the book and said: "Comrade Stalin said this in 1926, but we are now in 1938. At that time we did not have the final victory, but now we have it and there is no need for us at all to worry about intervention and restoration."

Then he went on to say: "We have now the final victory of Socialism and a full guarantee against intervention and the *restoration of capitalism.*"

And so I was counted as an abbettor of Trotskyism and removed from propaganda work and the question was raised as to whether I was fit to remain in the Y. C. L.

Please, Comrade Stalin, will you explain whether we have the final victory of Socialism yet or not. Perhaps there is additional contemporary material on this question connected with recent changes that I have not come across yet. Also I think that Urozhenko's statement that Comrade Stalin's works on this question are somewhat out of date is an anti-Bolshevik one.

Are the leading workers of the Regional Committee right in counting me as a Trotskyist? I feel very much hurt and offended over this.

I hope, Comrade Stalin, that you will grant my request and reply to the Manturovsk District, Kursk Region, First Zasemsky Village Soviet, Ivan Philopivich Ivanov.

(*Signed*) I. IVANOV,
18th, Jan. 1938.

Stalin to Ivanov.

"Of course you are right, Comrade Ivanov, and your ideological opponents, i.e., Comrades Urozhenko and Kazelkov are wrong. And for the following reasons.

Undoubtedly the question of the victory of Socialism in one country in this case our country, has TWO DIFFERENT sides.

The FIRST side of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country embraces the problem of the mutual relations between classes in our country. This concerns the sphere of INTERNAL relations.

Can the working class of our country overcome the contradictions with our peasantry and establish an alliance, collaboration with them?

Can the working class of our country, in alliance with our peasantry, smash the bourgeoisie of our country, deprive it of the land, factories, mines, etc., and by its own efforts build a new, classless society, complete socialist society?

Such are the problems that are connected with the FIRST side of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country.

Leninism answers these problems in the affirmative. Lenin teaches us that "WE HAVE ALL THAT IS NECESSARY FOR THE BUILDING OF A COMPLETE SOCIALIST SOCIETY."

Hence we can and must, by our own efforts, overcome our bourgeoisie and build Socialist society.

Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, and those other gentlemen who later became spies and agents of fascism, denied that it was possible to build Socialism in our country unless the victory of the Socialist revolution was first achieved in other countries, in capitalist countries. As a matter of fact, these gentlemen wanted to turn our country back to the path of bourgeois development and they concealed their apostasy by hypocritically talking about the "victory of revolution" in other countries.

This was precisely the point of controversy between our Party and these gentlemen.

Our country's subsequent course of development proved that the party was right and that Trotsky and Company were wrong.

For, during this period, we succeeded

in liquidating our bourgeoisie, in establishing fraternal collaboration with our peasantry and in building, in the main, Socialist society, notwithstanding the fact that the Socialist revolution has not yet been victorious in other countries.

This is the position in regard to the FIRST side of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country.

I think, Comrade Ivanov, that this is not the side of the question that is the point of controversy between you and Comrades Urozhenko Kezelkov.

The SECOND side of the victory of Socialism in our country embraces the problem of the mutual relations between our country and other countries, capitalist countries; the problem of the mutual relations between the working class of our country and the bourgeoisie of the other countries. This concerns the sphere of EXTERNAL, INTERNATIONAL relations. Can the victorious Socialism of one country, which is encircled by many strong capitalist countries, regard itself as being fully guaranteed against the danger of military invasion, and hence, against attempts to restore capitalism in our country ?

Can our working class and our peasantry, by their own efforts, without the serious assistance of the working class in capitalist countries, overcome the bourgeoisie of other countries in the same way as we overcome our own bourgeoisie? In other words: Can we regard the victory of Socialism in our country as final, i. e. as being free from the dangers of military attack and of attempts to restore capitalism, assuming that Socialism is victorious only in one country and that the capitalist encirclement continues to exist ?

Such are the problems that are connected with the SECOND side of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country.

Leninism answers these problems in the negative. Leninism teaches that "the final victory of Socialism, in the sense of full guarantee against the restoration of bourgeois relations, is possible only on an international scale." (resolution of the Fourteenth Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.)

This means that the serious assistance of the international proletariat is a force without which the problem of the final victory of Socialism in one country cannot be solved.

This, of course, does not mean that we must sit with folded arms and wait for assistance from outside. On the contrary, this assistance of the international proletariat must be combined with our work to strengthen the defence of our country, to strengthen the Red Army and the Red Navy, to mobilise the whole country for the purpose of resisting military attack and attempts to restore bourgeois relations.

This is what Lenin says on this score:

"We are living not merely in a State but IN A SYSTEM OF STATES, and it is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to co-exist for a long period side by side with imperialist States. Ultimately one or other must conquer. Meanwhile, a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois States is inevitable. This means that if the proletariat, as the ruling class, wants to and will rule, it must prove this also by military organisation." (Collected Works, Vol. 24, Page 122) And further:

"We are surrounded by people, classes and governments which openly express their hatred for us. We must remember that we are at all times but a hair's breadth from invasion." (Collected Works Vol. 27, Page 117.)

This is said sharply and strongly but honestly and truthfully without embellishment as Lenin was able to speak.

On the basis of these premises

STALIN stated in "PROBLEMS OF LENINISM" that.

"The final victory of Socialism is the full guarantee against attempts at intervention, and that means against restoration, for any serious attempt at restoration can take place only with serious support from outside, only with the support of international capital."

"Hence the support of our revolution by the workers of all countries, and still more, *the victory of the workers in at least several countries*, is a necessary condition for fully guaranteeing the first victorious country against attempts at intervention and restoration, a necessary condition for the final victory of Socialism." (Leninism Vol. 1, Page 299.)

Indeed, it would be ridiculous and stupid to close our eyes to the capitalist encirclement and to think that our external enemies, the fascists, for example, will not, if the opportunity arises, make an attempt at a military attack upon the U. S. S. R. Only blind braggarts or masked enemies who desire to lull the vigilance of our people can think like that.

No less ridiculous would it be to deny that in the event of the slightest success of military intervention, the interventionists would try to destroy the Soviet system in the districts they occupied and restore the bourgeois system.

Did not Denikin and Kolchak restore the bourgeois system in the districts they occupied? Are the fascists any better than Denikin or Kolchak?

Only blockheads or masked enemies who with their boastfulness want to conceal their hostility and are striving to demobilise the people can deny the danger of military intervention and attempts at restoration as long as the capitalist encirclement exists.

Can the victory of Socialism in one country be regarded as final if this country is encircled by capitalism, and if it is not fully guaranteed against the danger of intervention and restoration?

Clearly, it is not.

This is the position in regard to the question of the victory of Socialism in one country.

It follows that this question contains two different problems ;

1. The problem of the *Internal relations in our country*, i.e., the problem of overcoming our own bourgeoisie and building complete Socialism ; and

2. The problem of the *external* relations of our country, i.e., the problem of completely ensuring our country against the dangers of military intervention and restoration.

We have already solved the first problem, for our bourgeoisie has already been liquidated and Socialism has already been built in the main. This is what we call the victory of Socialism, or, to be more exact, the victory of Socialist Construction in one country.

We could say that this victory is final if our country were situated on an island and if it were not surrounded by numerous capitalist countries.

But as we are not living on an island but "in a system of States," a considerable number of which are hostile to the land of Socialism and create the danger of intervention and restoration, we say openly and honestly that the victory of Socialism in our country is not yet final.

But from this it follows that the second problem is not yet solved and that it has yet to be solved. More than that : the second problem cannot be solved in the way that we solved the first problem, i.e., solely by the efforts of our country.

The second problem can be solved only by combining the serious efforts of the international proletariat with the still more serious efforts of the whole of our Soviet people.

The international proletarian ties between the working class of the U.S.S.R. and the working class in bourgeois countries must be increased and strengthened; the political assistance of the working class in the bourgeois countries for the working class of our country must be organised in the event of a militaty attack on our country; *and also every assistance of the working class of our country for the working class in bourgeois countries must be organised*; our Red Army, Red Navy, Red Airfleet, and the Chemical and Air Defence Society must be increased and strengthened to the utmost.

The whole of our people must be kept in a state of mobilisation and preparedness in the face of the danger of a military attack, so that no "accident" and no tricks on the part of our external enemies may take us by surprise...

From your letter it is evident that Comrade Urozhenko adheres to different and not quite Leninist opinions. He, it appears, asserts that "we now have the final victory of Socialism and full guarantee against intervention and the restoration of capitalism."

There cannot be the slightest doubt that Comrade Urozhenko is fundamentally wrong.

Comrade Urozhenko's assertion can be explained only by his failure to understand the surrounding reality and his ignorance of the elementary propositions of Leninism, or by empty boastfulness of a conceited young bureaucrat.

If it is true that "we have full guarantees against intervention and the restoration of capitalism," then why do we need a strong Red Army, Red Navy, Red Airfleet, a strong Chemical and Air Defence Society, more and stronger ties with the international proletariat?

Would it not be better to spend the milliards that now go for the purpose of strengthening the Red Army on other needs and to reduce the Red Army to the utmost, or even to dissolve it altogether?

People like Comrade Urozhenko, even if subjectively they are loyal to our cause, are objectively dangerous to it because by their boastfulness they—willingly or unwillingly (it makes no difference!)—lull the vigilance of our people, demobilise the workers and peasants and help the enemies to take us by surprise in the event of international complications.

As for the fact that, as it appears, you, Comrade Ivanov, have been "removed from propaganda work and the question has been raised of your fitness to remain in the Y. C. L.," you have nothing to fear.

If the people in the Regional Committee of the Y. C. L. really want to imitate Chekov's Sergeant Prishibeyev, you can be quite sure that they will lose on this game.

Prishibeyevs are not liked in our country.

Now you can judge whether the passage from the book "Problems of Leninism" on the victory of Socialism in one country is out of date or not.

I myself would very much like it to be out of date, I would like unpleasant things like capitalist encirclement, the danger of military attack, the danger of the restoration of capitalism, etc., to be things of the past. Unfortunately, however, these unpleasant things still exist.

(Signed) J. STALIN,
February 12, '38.

CULTURE IN THE SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE

Vincente Arrayo (Madrid)

"Spain is a country of illiterates and beggars." Such or similar unfavourable judgements were passed by foreigners who formerly visited Spain. In fact our big towns were peopled by thousands of men and women, among them many young people, who were simply compelled to beg in order to live. A handful of privileged persons had obtained possession of the country's sources of wealth, which they left in their original state and thereby condemned a great part of the population to starvation. In some provinces, and especially in Andalusia the figures regarding illiteracy were terribly high. In Almeria 80 percent of the population were illiterate. But illiteracy was only the result of the terrible poverty prevailing in Spain, which compelled the workers and peasants to send their children to work at a very early age to earn their own livelihood.

But an end is now being put to this state of affairs in Republican Spain. Everything is being done in order to abolish this heritage of a semi-feudal epoch. Beggars have practically disappeared from the streets. In democratic Spain all men and women who are able and willing to work are given the opportunity of exercising their strength and skill and following a profession which will secure them a living. The abolition of illiteracy is also making great progress, thanks above all to the present Minister of Education, Comrade Hernandez, who is overcoming a thousand difficulties in order to keep the promise he made a year ago when he took over the Ministry of Education: "My one thought here will be to open wide the gates of culture to our people."

Rarely has a Minister so faithfully fulfilled his promises as has the Communist Minister for Education, Hernandez, who moreover has been supported in his efforts by the People's Front Government.

The children who had to be evacuated from Madrid, Estremadura, Andalusia and other provinces, forcibly captured or threatened by the fascists, were placed in children's homes, where they were provided not only with food and a roof over their heads, but where they were also given the necessary school education. But the Minister for Education also paid attention to the education of the adults. Thousands and thousands of workers and peasants who took up weapons to defend the independence of Spain were illiterate or semi-literate. Culture reached them even in the trenches. The Minister for Education organised in the "Cultural Militia" anti-fascist speakers, who went into the trenches in order to teach the soldiers to read and write.

In addition, the Communist Minister for Education, in the course of a few months, set up workers' seminaries in various provinces, where workers and peasants were able to extend their knowledge.

But all this did not satisfy the Minister for Education; he wished to secure for the workers and peasants entry into the ordinary secondary and high schools; to give them the possibility of becoming doctors, engineers or architects. Therefore he removed all economic hindrances which lay in the

way. The Ministerial Council has just approved the law proposed by the Minister for Education, which opens to the working people the centres of education of the whole country. It will be no longer the sons and daughters of the rich landowners and grandees who attend the high schools, but the choice will be made according to ability. This law does not consist of a fine theory, but it is a practical realisation of the principle that those who lack the means for study must be granted the necessary assistance from the State.

A decree provides for the payment of grants to young students according to the following scale: those under 18 years of age who do not work in the ordinary way receive 200 pesetas a month. Those, however, who have passed their eighteenth year, and as a result of their being engaged in study cannot engage in productive work, receive 300 pesetas. Those students over 18 years of age who, on account of their studies, are compelled to leave their normal place of residence, receive an extra allowance of 5 pesetas a day. Thus the high schools are now not only accessible to those to whom they were formerly closed, but in addition the State provides for their upkeep and the upkeep of their families.

What other nation, with the exception of the Soviet Union, can boast of having brought about such a thorough change in the sphere of education in so short a time? And what other nation, except the Soviet Union, can boast of paying so much attention to fostering and promoting culture? This tremendous advance on the cultural front has been made in Spain in the midst of a terrible war which is absorbing the greater part of the energies of the nation. And all this is taking place in a country which, according to the cynical assertions of Mussolini, must be saved from "Bolshevik barbarism."

Here the "Western civilisation" of fascism—there the "barbarism of Bolshevism." In Spain there are striking examples of one and the other. The fascist bearers of culture murder poets like Garcia Lorca, professors like Leopolde Alas; at the same time a "Bolshevik barbarian," the Communist Minister for Education, sees to it that the Spanish poets and scientists are removed from the danger zones of the criminal fascist bomb-throwers.

The fascist "civilisers" bombard and destroy the world-famous Del Prado museum, the National Library, the scientific laboratories; the Bolshevik "barbarians"—for according to the narrow fascist view all who fight for Spanish independence are Bolsheviks—are saving, at the risk of their lives, the most valuable art treasures in the museums and libraries bombarded by the fascists.

Wherever they come the fascist "civilisers" close the schools and convert them into concentration camps. The "barbaric" Communist Minister and the People's Front Government open to the people not only the elementary schools, but also the universities.

In 14 months of fighting, the Spanish people have given to the world a number of magnificent lessons. The realisation of Comrade Hernandez' slogan: education, from the elementary schools to the highest institutes of learning, shall be open to the people, is one more lesson.

THE HOLY LAND OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM—II

(*Continued from the February issue*).

Hajrah Begum.

The Royal Commission Report on Palestine is a document of great importance. One value of the Report is that it is, in some respects, surprisingly honest. It acknowledges facts which have hitherto been generally suppressed or distorted. The following, for instance, is quite an objective account of the character of the 1936 disturbances:—

"It has been pointed out that the outbreak of 1933 was not only, or even mainly, an attack on the Jews, but an attack on the Palestine Govt. In 1936 this was still clearer. Jewish towns were taken and Jewish property destroyed; but the outbreak was chiefly and directly aimed at the Government. The word 'disturbance' gives a misleading impression of what happened. It was an open rebellion of the Palestine Arabs, assisted by fellow Arabs from other countries, against British Mandatory rule."

The analysis of the underlying causes of the revolt is fair, too, in its general conclusions. These causes, the Commission finds, were:—

1. "The desire of the Arabs for National Independence."
2. "Their hatred and fear of the establishment of the Jewish National Home."

The conflict between Arabs and Jews in Palestine, the Report goes on to explain, is not

"in its essence an inter-racial conflict arising from any old instinctive antipathy of Arabs towards Jews. There was little or no friction........between Arab and Jew in the rest of the Arab world until the strife in Palestine endangered it. And there has been precisely the same political trouble in Iraq, Syria and Egypt—agitation, rebellion, and bloodshed—where there are no "National Homes". Quite obviously the problem of Palestine is political."

The last statement is important. It is, taken in its context, an admission that the Arab-Jewish conflict is only a by-product of the national struggle of the Palestine Arabs against imperialism. This struggle is, in its essential characteristics, the same as any other anti-imperialist struggle. It has taken on an anti-Jewish appearance only because the Zionists in Palestine have hitherto tried to build this national home behind the barbed-wire of British Imperialism.

Coming to the future, the Report admits that both Jews and Arabs are qualified for self-government, that neither community can be expected to acquiesce in the continuance of the present alien bureaucratic government, and that, as far at any rate as the Arabs are concerned, this regime "can only be maintained in Palestine for any length of time by a rigorous system of repression."

So far so good. It seems to be as easy for the Govt. to induce the public to accept a new policy as a new king. For the last 20 years British

policy in Palestine has been based on the assumption that her obligations to Arabs and Jews were compatible. Each successive Colonial Secretary has frequently assured the House of Commons that the establishment of a Jewish National Home was compatible with the safeguarding of Arab rights (including the right to self-government). This dogma was asserted by Mr. Ormsby Gore as recently as June 19, 1936, in the course of the House of Commons Palestine debate:—

"The sole aim of H. M's Govt. is to obtain an objective and non-partisan report, to enable them to do justice to all sections of the Palestine population. I am convinced that on the basis of the recommendations of such a Commission, *a measure can be found, within the framework of the Mandate, with its dual obligations to Jews and non-Jews to secure that end.*"

Contrast this statement, one of the dozens, with the following passage from the Report:—

"Nor do we suggest that the obligations Britain undertook towards the Arabs and the Jews some 20 years ago have lost in moral or legal weight through what has happened since. *The trouble is that they have proved irreconcilable,* and, as far ahead as we can see, they must continue to conflict. To put it in one sentence, *we cannot, in Palestine, as it now is, both concede the Arab claim to self-government and secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home.*"

This is an example of the flexibility of British Imperialism, of the ease with which it is prepared to shift its ground from one policy to another as expediency demands. Britain has never been so innocent as to suppose that the Zionist claim to a National Home and the Arab claim to self-government were reconcilable, or that a British Mandate could reconcile them. But so long as it suited Britain to control Palestine through the instrument of a Mandate, the dogma of compatibility was kept up. And the Arabs, who denied the dogma, and revolted to enforce their claim were suppressed in the name of the dogma. The recent revolt and repression cost about 1,000 Arab lives, 90 Jewish lives, 21 British lives, and about £3½ millions to the tax-payers of Palestine. These events showed plainly that the Mandate was now useless as the instrument of British Imperialism. To continue to operate it would mean a continuation of serious bloodshed and financial loss, involving loss of British prestige and a weakening of her position in the Mediterranean. Consequently it was necessary to evolve a new policy which should (a) give Britain as firm a foot-hold as the Mandate gave her; (b) relieve her of the responsibility for public security; (c) satisfy sections of both communities.

Previous to the war, Jews and Arabs lived peacefully together in Palestine. They *are* living peacefully together today in Bagdad, Damascus and Alexandria. Since the British conquest Jews and Arabs have not succeeded in living peacefully in Palestine simply because the conditions for a peaceful common life—self-determination and equal citizenship—have never existed. Now the old instrument of British Imperialism, the Mandate, is to be terminated. In a United Palestine, freed from the Mandate, there should be nothing to prevent Jews and Arabs from gradually adjusting their differences and arriving at a settlement in regard to the future government of the country. For this it is essential that Palestine should remain *united,* and that the Jews should accept the principle of *equal citizenship.* But this goes against the grain of British Imperialism. This goes against the vital interests of British Imperialism and so what does Britain offer Palestine now? Not unity, peace and independence, but a firmer grip than ever, a stranglehold—in the shape of the proposed partition of Palestine into 3 sectors, one Arab, one Jewish and the third to remain

under the British Mandate. A divided Palestine, with a segregated Jewish community and the intensification of the National Home within a limited area, will act as an irritant, not as a solvent to the present antagonism. But such is the will of Imperialism. Why?

These recommendations of the Commission are the logical outcome of the undeviating policy of British Imperialism, the policy of divide and rule, which plays Protestants off against Catholics in Ireland (and led to partition there), Mohammedans against Hindus in India, and Jews against Arabs in Palestine, the policy which enables Britain to stabilise its political power by assuming the role of the mediator between the victims of its own intrigues.

British Imperialism operated that policy in Palestine from the very beginning, as the report, for all its hair-splitting insistence on the convenient ambiguities of the Balfour Declaration, shows.

Imperialist interests influencing the Commission's recommendations are clear enough.

In the first place the Palestine disturbances had their effect on Britain's prestige. Another outbreak similar to that of last year would be even more damaging. The report admits it openly. Scrutator in the "Sunday Times" (July 11) talks of "a failure so damaging to our prestige in the world."

In the second place, as a result of the policy pursued, the situation has become serious from a strategic point of view. Says the Report:

A continuance or rather an aggravation—for that is what continuance will mean—of the present situation cannot be contemplated without the gravest misgivings. It will mean constant unrest and disturbance in peace, and a potential danger in the event of war."

For, Palestine is of key strategic importance for British imperialism and, as the antagonisms in the Mediterranean become more acute, that importance increases. L. S. Amery has written:

"The key position of the whole region is Palestine, which covers the Suez canal from the north and from which start the air route and future railway route from the Mediterranean to India...It is within this zone...that an ever-increasing proportion of our first-line Air Force should be stationed. Palestine is the strategical air centre of our Empire defence." (The Forward View.)

While, therefore, British imperialism cannot afford to pursue its policy in its present form, British supremacy in Palestine must, nevertheless, be maintained. So the old policy of divide and rule is to be dished up in another and "higher" form at the expense of both the Arab and Jewish peoples.

The Report declares that the only alternative to the policy of partition is one of "a rigorous system of repression." At the moment British imperialism does not wish openly to pursue this latter course—although it is perfectly ready to do so should the situation demand it and it is even ready to enforce partition by force. Therefore the "partition" scheme is advanced.

The extension of the system of a number of puppet Arab states, controlled of course by Britain—following along the lines of the 1922 partition—the maintenance of direct British control over the strategically most important area—the new mandated territory—and the bringing of the remaining strategically important territory under Zionist rule is the essence of this scheme.

Nothing could demonstrate more clearly that this is the true nature of Zionism as the instrument of British imperialism and therefore as fundamentally opposed to the real interests of the Jewish as well as the Arab people.

The Report gives no hope that an undertaking will be given to the inhabitants of either state that they shall have any say in the matter of the form of government under which they are to be made to live. On the contrary, careful preparation have been made and the notices to establish martial law are stated to have already been printed to impose partition and the new form of government on the people if necessary by force.

On the morning of October 1 the British Administration in Palestine mustered all its military and police forces and struck at the Arab Nationalist Movement.

The Arab Higher Committee and all Arab National Committees were declared illegal; five of the most prominent Arab leaders, four of them members of the Higher Committee, were arrested and deported without delay; the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem was deprived of his post as President of the Moslem Supreme Council and of his membership of the General Wakf Committee, of which he was the Chairman; a large number of other Arabs were rounded up.

The reason for this astonishing coup was stated in an official communique of the Palestine Government to be the existence of "an organised campaign of terrorism and assassination," and that the men arrested had been engaged in activities "prejudicial to the maintenance of public security in Palestine," and "must, thus, be regarded as morally responsible for the recent assassination of the British District Commissioner of Galilee and a British constable."

It is obvious to all but the most prejudiced observers that the British administration has taken the terrorist killings in Galilee as an excuse not to root out the terrorists but to drive home an attack against the whole Arab nationalist movement. It was this movement which had shown the greatest hostility to the British scheme for partitioning Palestine, proposed by the recent Peel Commission. Determined to drive through this scheme at all costs, whatever minor modifications might be made, British imperialism had to try to shatter all opposition.

The following facts should be borne in mind:—

1. The swoop of the British police and military on the Arab leaders took place after a demand by the arrested men for an immediate trial or the immediate release of 200 Arabs seized, following the killing of the British officials.

2. The Arab Higher Committee, within an hour or two of the assassinations, passed a resolution unanimously expressing horror at the action of the unknown terrorists responsible.

3. On the very morning of the coup the "Palestine Post" published an interview with an "authoritative Arab source in Jerusalem"--generally thought to be Dr Khalidi, mayor of the city, who is one of the men who have been deported—placing the guilt for the murders on a certain gang, declaring that the Government was mistakenly blaming the recognised Arab parties and expressing deep dissatisfaction with the "wholesale concentration at Acre of numerous Arabs guiltless of any connection with these crimes."

4. It is evident that the Government had no evidence against the men arrested and deported. Even the Jerusalem correspondent of "The Times" has written:

"The Government announcement refers to these men as 'morally responsible', a phrase from which it seems that *owing to lack of evidence* there is no intention of instituting legal proceedings against them." ("Times", October 2 R.G.'s emphasis)

5, Most important of all, however, is the fact that the news of the killing of the two British officials and the news

suggesting that further outbreaks of a similar character in other British and French spheres of interest in the Near East have been received with the utmost calm in London, where semi-official circles are of the opinion that pressure of this kind is unlikely to be confined solely to Europe in general, and Paris in particular.

The Reason for this is:-

(a) that the British Government is perfectly aware that the organisation of these terrorist activities has its headquarters in Rome and that Rome has organised terrorist gangs in Palestine and in other British and French spheres in the Near East; that (b) this perfectly well-known fact is to be treated—for reasons of Mr. Chamberlain's diplomacy—as though it did not exist.

Indeed, the British Government, is as well-informed of the identity of the "unknown terrorists" as it is of the "unknown submarines" operating in the Mediterranean Sea itself. In fact, it is stated that the British Intelligence is in possession of the two secret codes used by the Italian fascists for sending instructions both to submarines and to certain agents in the Dodecanese, in Egypt and in Palestine.

Armed with these proofs, the British Government is perfectly able to take steps against the real terrorists operating in Palestine, against the Italian agents and the Nazis who co-operate with them. But this the British Government refuse to do because it is against the general line of the National Government's foreign policy which seeks to bring into being a Four-Power Pact.

Therefore, with a ferocity reminiscent of the Black-and-Tan days in Ireland—a cruising police patrol shot dead an Arab who failed to answer a challenge—British imperialism is striking, not at the terrorists, but at the whole of the Arab people and at their national liberation movement. Because of this it must be opposed not only by the British people, but by all those Jewish people in Palestine, who see in a Palestine free of British domination the only hope for peace, liberty and brotherly co-operation with the Arabs."
—R. Goodman.

Since the outlawing of the Arab Higher Committee, the British administration in Palestine—acting to a large extent on direct orders from the Colonial office and to a less extent on its own initiative—has been carrying through the fiercest terror against the Arab people.

The blowing up of Arab homes by British soldiers, the imposition of curfew, for, in some cases as long as twenty-two hours out of the twenty-four, the reintroduction of collective fines, wholesale arrests and wholesale imprisonment without charge or trial, gross ill-treatment of prisoners, even the violation of Arab women in public—these are now the methods by which British imperialism is waging its war against the Arab liberation movement which is irreconcilably opposed to the British plan to partition Palestine.

Heavy censorship prevents anything like a true picture of what is now going on, being given to the British people. But those accounts which do leak through are more than enough to give some indication of the extent and ruthlessness of this new British terror.

Here are some examples:

As reprisals against attacks by "unknown" bands on the Lydda air-port, when a number of important buildings were destroyed, British soldiers, wearing tin hats for the first time since the great strike of last year, occupied the town, dynamited a number of Arab homes (during 1936 British soldiers blew up half of the town, which was rebuilt with the assistance of an Arab nationalist bank) and announced that the £ 5,000 collective fines imposed last year, but not collected, must be paid.

British troops searching for rifles and ammunition removed from police officers at the police station at Daharia, near Hebron, by a band of Arabs the day before, dynamited three Arab houses and stripped a number of Arab women in the main street. The search proved unsuccessful, so the officer in charge announced that:

"Further punitive measures will be taken repeatedly until the missing rifles are found."

On October 29, two thousand British troops and armed police were drafted into the mountainous district bordered by the lines joining Tulkarem, Nablus and Jenin. The troops included companies of machine-gunners and were accompanied by armoured cars and scout and bombing planes. ("Daily Herald". October 30.)

The "Official Gazette" has announced that the order authorising the condemnation of persons accused of murder on the evidence of only one witness has been brought into force.

Meanwhile in London, developments are taking place at almost panic rate against the background of the belief in Colonial Office circles that Mussolini is determined sooner or later to denounce the British Mandate in Palestine.

First came the sinister announcement that Sir Charles Tegart, who a few years ago gained notoriety for the ruthlessness of his suppression of "terrorists" in Bengal, is going to Palestine "to advise the Government on police organisation there."

Second came the news that Sir Arthur Wauchope, Palestine High Commissioner recalled to London on grounds of "ill-health", was resigning his position on grounds of "ill-health". The fact that Sir Arthur would not hold down that post for long has, of course, been common knowledge in well informed London circles for a considerable time. His "retirement" is a victory for Mr. Ormsby Gore and his friends on the "Times" who have been waging a campaign against him ever since the League Mandate Commission issued its rebuke to Britain. For, in fact, there are two opposed views on the Palestine problem current in the Colonial Office and Government circles generally. One—the line of Wauchope—was that if Britain is to keep Palestine it was necessary to divide the Arabs, treating some as "moderates" and others as "extremists". The other is the policy of the "strong hand" and based itself on what it declared was an established fact that the policy of division necessarily results in "trouble" which is damaging to British prestige.

The second line has won, but the short period during which it has been in operation, has only served to panic everybody concerned more than ever, for, swung into action while Sir Arthur Wauchope was in England facing the criticism of the "Times" and all whom that paper spoke for, all that this policy has so far achieved is to create a greater anti-British unity of "moderate" and "extreme" Arab opinion and to send some of the most reactionary rich Arabs straight into the arms of fascist Italy.

Nor is that all. Reports received recently by both the Colonial and Foreign Offices have indicated that the carefully-laid British plans in both Iraq and the Hedjaz have suffered or are on the verge of suffering a serious misfire.

Earlier in the year the British determined that the Iraq dictator and Chief-of-Staff Siddiqi was altogether too friendly with Italy (and to a less extent with Germany) and arranged for his removal. They calculated that sufficient strings could be pulled behind the scenes to insure that the subsequently organised Government would be a safely pro-British affair. It now appears, however, that his murder has really accomplished less than nothing

and Italian influence in Iraq is still on the upgrade.

Equally, if not more, disquieting news (for the Colonial Office) comes from the Hedjaz. It is still generally believed that Ibn Saud is little more than a British puppet, if, at times, a not altogether reliable one. Reports received recently, however, show that this ambitious monarch, who had hoped to become King of the Arabs with the help of British imperialism, has pretty nearly—if not quite—given up all such hope and is in close touch with Mussolini, in whom he now sees a much more likely backer with whose assistance to accomplish his ambition.

It is in this situation that Colonial Office, Foreign Office and Admiralty circles are talking about the probability of "war at both ends of the Mediterranean". And it is because of this that the following facts must be emphasised:

1. It would be a major error to identify—as the pro-Zionist "Daily Herald" tends to do—the Arab national liberation movement as a whole with the "pan-Islamic" movement which Mussolini—for his own demagogic, political and military ends—is trying to stimulate in the Near East and in North Africa. Italian fascist (and Nazi) influence is confined to the ruling cliques in the present Arab States (Iraq, Hedjaz, Yemen) and, in Palestine, to certain of the rich. reactionary Arab Effendis who have already betrayed the democratic revolution.

2. It would be an equally major error to identify the Arab national liberation movement with the small more or less isolated groups of "terrorists" which, it must be admitted, are operating under Italian direction in Palestine. It is, indeed, just this which the British National Government, in its drive to smash opposition to its Palestine Partition plan and destroy the whole Arab liberation movement, requires, so as to win Liberal and

Labour support for its campaign of repression against the Arab people. Nor must it be assumed that the National Government is not as well-informed of the character and direction of the "unknown terrorist gangs" in the Eastern Mediterranean area as it is of the nationality of the "unknown pirates" or "porpoises" in the Western Mediterranean. But to come out openly and say so would run counter to the present line of Mr. Chamberlain's policy.

3. The position in the Eastern Mediterranean is linked up indissolubly with the position in the Western Mediterranean, with Spain. Indeed there is reason to believe that it is on account of the development of the Italian threat to British imperialism in the Near East that the present "conciliatory" attitude of the National Government towards Italy on the Spanish question has developed—the idea being that if Italy is treated "lightly" in the Western Mediterranean it may be possible to bring about some sort of a "settlement" in the Eastern half.

A final word must be said about the recent visit of Nazi Ambassador Ribbentrop to Rome, as this has an important bearing on the position of the British Government.

The British Government in general and the Colonial Office in particular are quite convinced, it would appear, that during this visit Mussolini promised support for Germany's demand for colonies in return for German backing for his offensive in Spain, and in the Near East and North Africa against Britain and France.

As a result, those elements in and around the Government who demand a "sympathetic attitude" on the part of Britain towards the Nazis' demands have, to some extent, strengthened their position—their argument being that if Britain shows herself "sympathetic" on this point to Berlin, Berlin on her part will be less keen to back Mussolini's anti-British drive in the Mediterranean and Near East. (Here again, of course, the actual result would be just the opposite.) Thus in reply to Mussolini's statement that Germany's colonial demands must be met, and the threat of "action" from Berlin itself, the pro-German "Times" comes out with a plea for "reasonable consideration."

By securing a permanent Mandate over the Jaffa-Jerusalem enclave and the Sea of Galilee, Britain will probably strengthen her strategic position. A permanent footing in a restricted area is likely to be of greater advantage to Britain than her present unstable position as Mandatory for the whole of Palestine.

The Aqaba enclave will give Britain access to the Red Sea and thus control of a route to the East alternative to the Suez Canal.

Haifa (important both as a terminus of the oil pipe line from Kirkuk and as a cruiser base), Acre, Safad, and Tiberias are to be retained under temporary British Mandate for an indefinite period, on the ground of their mixed populations.

The collection of customs at the ports and the allocation of the appropriate sums to the Arab State, the Jewish State, and the Mandated area are to be entrusted for a period to Great Britain. This arrangement is likely to give her a measure of control over the revenues of the two states.

It is likely that the proposed linking of the Arab State with Trans-Jordan, which appears on the surface to be a move in the direction of Arab unity, is in fact intended to prepare the way for the establishment of Amir Abdullah, who as ruler of Trans-Jordan has usually shown himself a good servant of British imperialism, upon the throne of the new combined state. Thus the Palestine Arabs are to be deprived of the democratically elected government which they have always demanded even in the restricted

area remaining to them, and are to be submitted to the rule of a rajah.

It is clear that though in theory, partition is to depend upon the consent of both communities, preparations are in fact being made to push the arrangement through by force. The Commission has spoken too definitely against the continuance of the Mandate for that to be a possible alternative. The only real possibilities, then, are partition or self-government for a united Palestine. Britain will use all her weight to compel acceptance of the former. What chance is there that the people of Palestine will compel Britain to accept the latter?

Palestine will not be able to avoid partition, or a long and bloody attempt to impose partition, unless the Arabs and Jews can combine to resist it. The present situation presents an exceptionally good opportunity for the formation of a united anti-imperialist front of the Arabs and Jews. Neither wish to see their country mutilated. Neither want Britain permanently established in Jerusalem. Both will lose economically by the complicated political arrangements that partition involves.

There are signs that a new alignment of forces is in fact already beginning. Two articles on the subject of the Palestine Report were published in "The Times" of July 17, one by Mr. Philby, the other by Professor Norman Bentwich. Mr. Philby, the imperialist "friend of the Arabs", welcomes partition and argues that the Arabs have obtained 23/24ths of their demands. Professor Bentwich, the moderate Zionist, opposes partition on the ground that it conflicts with the ideals and interests of both she Jews and the Arabs.

"May not the two peoples agree to keep the integral Palestine they love, and work together for the common well-being and joint national independence?"

The "Jewish Chronicle" of July 16, in a leading article, approaches the situation from a similar point of view;

"We are convinced that a way could and should be found for Jews and Arabs to build in amity a common homeland."

Hitherto there has been a conflict within the ranks of British imperialism between the pro-Zionist and pro-Arab sections. The Commission's Report has resolved that conflict. Both the pro-Zionists and the pro-Arabs have come down heavily in favour of partition.

Now that the imperialist forces are closing their ranks the anti-imperialist forces must do the same. Progressive Zionists must recognise that in the long run they have nothing to gain from co-operation with British Imperialism; that if they wish to secure peace and happiness for the Jews of Palestine and keep the Arab world open to Jewish immigration they must reach a settlement with the Arabs. The passages quoted above indicate that Zionists themselves are increasingly coming to realise that this is so.

S T A T I S T I C S

FACTS AND FIGURES

INDIA

Growth of Strike Movement

Year	No. of strikes	No. of workers (lacs)	No. of working days lost (lacs)
1932	129	1·4	19
1933	159	1·8	22
1934	174	2·6	48
1935	153	1·2	10
1936	183	1·9	24
1937*	303	5·6	73

* up to September

(Bombay **Labour Gazette**)

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STORIES THEY TELL

Growing militancy of Indian workers

The militancy of the Indian Workers touched its lowest point in 1932. Since then the strike movement has grown steadily with one interruption in 1935. It is in 1937 that we see a tremendous growth of the strike movement. As can be judged from the figures for 9 months, 1937 is perhaps going to be the record year of strikes in India. Compared to 1936, even the incomplete figures for 1937 show a tremendous increase. Within one year, the number of strikes has nearly doubled, the number of workers and the number of working days lost, have trebled.

*　　　*　　　*

BOMBAY

Average Daily wages of Mufussil Labour

	1935			1936			per cent decrease
Urban	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	
Skilled	1	6	5	1	5	2	6
Unskilled	0	7	6	0	7	1	6
Field	0	6	1	0	5	7	8
Rural							
Skilled	1	0	9	0	15	4	8
Unskilled	0	5	8	0	5	5	4
Field	0	4	1	0	4	9	0

(Bombay **Labour Gazette** - Jan. 1938)

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Reduced wages for Bombay workers

Since 1929 the wages of mofussil labour in the province of Bombay have been falling steeply without any tendency to rise. Since 1934 the cost of living, however, has been rising. Between 1935 and 1936 the cost of food rose by nearly 4%, while, excepting in one case, wages fell by 4 to 8%. This would mean a great hardship on the workers.

*　　　*　　　*

BENGAL

Annual Income of Cultivators

Crop	Before depression (per acre) Rs. a.	After depression (per acre) Rs. a.	Per cent decrease
Aus paddy	32 7	9 0	72
Aman ,,	58 1	18 0	69
Jute	60 0	24 0	63

(Final Survey & Settlement Report 24-Parganas, Bengal)

* * *

Starvation for Bengal Peasants

The income is calculated by deducting only the rent and the cost of production from the gross price that would be realised by selling the total crop. It does not take into account taxes, debts interest, *abwabs* (illegal exactions), etc. The net income will thus be much less than what has been shown here. As the average holding is 2 acres of land, a cultivator's family is expected to live on Rs 18 to Rs 48 per year, which means virtual starvation.

* * *

SOVIET UNION

Efficiency and wages in the Soviet Union. Productivity per worker

Year	Index of productivity	Annual increase Per cent
1932	100	—
1933	119	8·7
1934	131	10·7
1935	152	15·6
1936	186	22·4

Soviet Workers Produce More and Earn More

Under Socialism the productivity of the Soviet workers is going up by leaps and bounds. Under the influence of the Stakhanov movement and the efficiency propaganda connected with it, the year 1936 showed the greatest gain that has been made in the productivity of labour in the Soviet Union.

* * *

Wages of Soviet workers

	1932	Plan for 1937	Per cent increase
Average Annual wages (Roubles*)	1,427	2,976	209
Govt. appropriation for wages (million roubles)	32.738	78,330	239

* Paper rouble Re 1/-

(American **Monthly Labour Review** - Aug. 1937

* * *

Wages of Soviet workers have increased much more than productivity. Between 1932 and 1937, productivity has increased by 86%, while wages have increased by 209%. While the Indian worker earns barely Rs 300/-per year the Soviet worker earns Rs 3000/-per year.

* * *

JAPAN

Industrial Accidents & Production

	Accidents and Injuries per 100 workers		
Year	Private factories	Govt. factories	Index of industrial Production*
1931	2·17	2·38	92
1932	2·14	2·31	98
1933	2·41	2·57	113
1934	2·85	2·89	129
1935	3·06	3·13	142

(Industrial & Labour Information—Oct. '37)

***Monthly Bulletin of Statistics— „)**

* * *

Japanese War causes More Accidents to the Japanese Workers

The imperialists of Japan are sacrificing the Japanese workers for increased production for war purposes. The almost parallel increase of production and rate of accidents shows the criminal negligence of the Japanese war-mongers. The average number of workers per factory under the government is more than 11 times the number for private factories. The rate of accidents is also more in the case of the government factories, which are mainly producing war materials.

* * *

Germany

Budget of Nazi Government

In Rm. 1,000 million

		Revenue	
Year	Expenditure	Taxation	Borrowing
1933/34	9·7	6·8	2·10
1934/35	12·2	8·2	3·15
1935/36	16·7	9·7	5·58
1936/37	20·1	11·5	6·70
1937/38	25·0	14·0	9·30

(The Banker—Feb., 1938)

* * *

Fascist Germany Prepares for War by Heavy Taxation and Borrowing

A combination of exceedingly heavy taxation with extensive borrowing has enabled the Nazi Government during the last five years to meet its soaring expenditure. The year 1937/38 shows nearly 50% increase in borrowing which must be due to the colossal expenditure for the production of armaments called for by the German intervention in Spain on the side of the Spanish Fascists.

* * *

(Continued from page 490.)

liberal in the world, was produced in 1917. Unfortunately the fighting soon reduced itself to struggles between different generals greedy for power, and profits. The framers of the 1917 Constitution and the radical idealists of the nineteen twenties envisaged a free Mexico of small independent farmers, and so the land which the peasants managed to take over in those days has been farmed in small individual lots grouped together in village collective associations know as *ejidos*. Supporters of the old plantation system of *haciendas* which are cultivated by extensive cheap human labour, pointed to the poor results of the *ejidos*, forgetting that the *ejidos* were usually situated on the worst land, which had not previously been cultivated, and that those cultivating these barren areas were left without any help to buy agricultural implements or anything. So matters remained with the rich getting richer, and the poor getting poorer, whilst the so-called National Revolutionary Party (P.N.R.) under President Calles contented itself with speaking sweet promises to the peasants and workers, whilst assuring the rich foreign companies that there was no need for alarm. In the Presidential elections of 1934 (under the Mexican Constitution the President is elected for six years and may not be re-elected) Calles decided to put forward General Cardenas as his successor, hoping that he would turn out to be a convenient figurehead through which the old policy could be continued. In order to be certain of winning the election a Six Year Plan was offered to the people which was not a plan in the Russian sense of the word, but only an election platform. However the people returned the P. N. R. with 25 lacs of votes as against a mere 47,000 given to all the other parties. To the surprise of many people President Cardenas has been taking the Six Year Plan seriously. Unlike most politicians he has been busy going round visiting the people, and has as a result built up a strong following among the masses. Ex-President Calles tried in vain to interfere, and now no longer counts in Mexican politics.

In 1936 the Cardenas government created the National Bank of Ejido Credit whose function it is to supply the peasant communities with the necessary credit to purchase agricultural machinery and stock, and also to supply the necessary technical advice. Then later on in the same year President Cardenas expropriated 1,00,00,000 acres of the good cotton growing land in the Laguna which had till then supported a few rich landlords, and thirty thousand starving peons. There he established a large scale mechanised co-operative farm. Thirty thousand agricultural workers (making with their families about 1,50,000 people) were organised into 280 co-operative societies, supplied with the best modern agricultural machinery, and experts, and with a programme of far-reaching economic and social development. Each co-operative is a separate unit, but all being closely linked together through the National Bank of Ejido Credit, they really form a huge collective farm.. The first year of this experiment has just ended successfully, and the same plan is being followed in other parts of the country. The henequen growing plantations of the Yucatan have been expropriated, and also in the Yaqui River valley of Sonora. Certain American papers have become indignant at this policy but really they have no ground for their indignation. The expropriations are being carried out according to the Agrarian Code, and the fact that certain people dislike the Agrarian Code is immaterial; a dacoit is hardly likely to appreciate the Indian Penal Code. Further the "expropriated" landholders are being given over lands in exchange

and in the case of the big Laguna companies cash payment for the value of their investments in machinery, water works, and other improvements.

But the most important step in fulfilling the aims of the revolutionary programme and the emancipation of the Mexican people has been the very recent announcement of the expropriation of the foreign oil companies, who have been the chief exploiters and oppressors of Mexican labour and one of the principal instigators and subsidisers of reactionary fascist plots to overthrow the Government and destroy the revolution. In Mexico the interests of the small capitalists and progressive members of the middle classes coincide with the interests of the workers. These find themselves unable to expand because of the old hacienda system of land tenure, and the foreign control of industry, and therefore the workers in Mexico have been able to gain considerable advantages. Thus for example Mexican labour had the right to organise and bargain collectively long before labour in the United States had won the same rights. Labour has been recently organising a series of strikes for higher wages, social benefits, and above all for the "closed shop". In view of this fact the nationalisation of the railways with a view to handing them over to the workers who will in future manage and control them, is not so surprising. The Government in September 1937 also started the National Labour and Industrial Development Bank headed by Gonzalez Aparicio, a distinguished economist, with the object of helping workers to set up co-operative factories. As a result of this a number of the Laguna farm co-operatives purchased the necessary industrial equipment, and similar developments are taking place in the henequen co-operatives in the Yucatan.

Another advance made by the Cardenas administration has been in the field of education. Within three years more than 6,000 new rural schools have been started—an increase of 75% in three years! There are now about 7,50,000 children attending school, but there are still 15,00,000 for whom there are no educational facilities. About 60% of the population are illiterate.

All these reforms have only been accomplished in the face of bitter opposition, and as the defenders of the old order grow more desperate they tend more to form themselves into a common counter-revolutionary front. The big landlords, the most powerful foreign monopolies, the upper clergy, and the older type of army officers have recently been uniting with openly terroristic bands such as the illegal "Gold Shirts", discredited labour leaders, and pseudo-revolutionary demagogues of the Calles era, foreign Fascist elements such as Nazi merchants, Spaniards sympathetic to Franco and such-like persons. In this connection it is important to remember that Mexico is the most important Latin American centre of Herr Bohle's National Socialist Foreign Bureau which was recently united with the Gestapo according to secret documents found in Barcelona and Madrid. Thus the "Gold Shirts" were originally organised by ex-President Abelardo Rodriguez with the help as it has since been proved of German gold. Pro-fascist elements are extremely vocal. Thus in Mexico City except for the "National" which is the Government's own paper, all the papers strongly support Franco, but they have only a small circulation and depend entirely on the advertisements they receive from certain interested business firms. Germany at present is spending a lot of money and energy in trying to establish finance imperialism in Latin America and Mexico, and whilst she is likely to come into immediate conflict with the finance imperialism of the United States and Great Britain, sooner or later she will also come in conflict with

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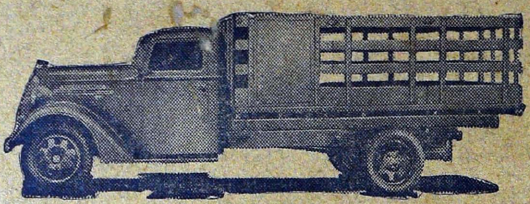

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